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Security Awareness and the Climate of Public Opinion:  
With Special Attention to Financial and Credit Issues

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## Introduction

We usually do not think of counterespionage and intelligence security measures as being affected by the climate of public opinion. Intelligence threats are seen as coming either from foreign agents or troubled individuals beset by personal problems or character flaws. But, as the Oxbridge recruitments in Great Britain in the 1930s illustrate, at certain times and places societal conditions can provide a more (or less) hospitable climate for espionage. As societal conditions shift, one must first recognize how the changes may undermine intelligence security and second develop procedures to maintain security despite the changes. Security awareness means not only keeping up with the latest technologies for gathering and protecting information, but also understanding how changes in the climate of public opinion may alter our ability to maintain security.

Public opinion can affect security in several ways, through its impact on 1) the pool of potential employees, 2) current employees, 3) security personnel, and 4) legislation and executive regulations. Public opinion on various security-related issues affects 1) the quality and quantity of potential employees, 2) the resolve of current employees to remain both diligent and loyal, 3) the ability of security personnel to carry out their duties, and 4) the passage of legislation and regulations about permissible counterespionage measures such as wiretaps, employment screening, and background checks. In brief, public opinion impacts on intelligence security in many ways.

Those engaged in security awareness training must know their target audiences in order to get the security message across effectively. In order to know how best to reach your intended audience and to motivate their diligence, you must know what values, concerns, and predispositions they bring with them. Like both teachers and politicians, you must "know your audience" to insure that your message is received, understood, and acted upon. While your audience is narrower than the general population, that I'll be referring to today, it still reflects the general attitudes and values of the American people and what I have to report should generally apply to your segment of the American people.

## Data and Methods

Information on public opinion about security-related issues was gathered from dozens of surveys from 16 different survey organizations. To assess the current state of opinion and the likely direction of public opinion in the near future, we have employed whenever possible trend and cohort analysis.

Trend analysis involves the tracking of recent changes in attitudes. It allows us to clearly compare the present with the past and gives us some limited insight into future conditions.

Cohort analysis compares how attitudes differ across age groups. Age differences can be a function of either aging (maturation) or generational changes across birth cohorts. For

example, older men are more likely to be bald than younger men. This is a result of their age, not the impact of the historical period in which they were raised and now live. Older men on the other hand are also more likely to favor traditional roles for women. This is not a function of their biological age, but of the times and culture in which they were raised. That is, each successive generation was raised in a society that was more accepting of modern roles for women, so each succeeding generation of men is less supportive of the traditional viewpoint on women. When age differences are due to cohort effects rather than aging effects, one can usually count on change continuing to slowly shift towards the position of the younger cohorts since 1) cohort turnover means that as the older generation dies off and is replaced by the incoming generation, its attitudes will also "die off" and be replaced by incoming ideas and 2) at least in the short term the attitudes of future generations (i.e. people becoming adults over the next decade) will usually resemble the attitudes of the current generation of young adults more than the attitudes of older adults.

Utilizing the fact that the youth opinions of today tend to become the adult opinions of tomorrow, we have included in our analysis three major youth studies: the Gallup Teen Surveys of 13-17 year olds, the Monitoring the Future surveys of high school seniors, and the Cooperative Institutional Research Program's survey of first-year college students.

Finally, we will at least occasionally be able to carry out time series, cohort analysis (i.e. how the attitudes of age groups have changed over time). By examining whether opinion changes at the same rate and in the same direction across different age groups, we can detect recent, generational effects.

### Security-Related Attitudes

There are many societal attitudes that touch upon security matters in one way or another. Table 1 lists the main topics which have implications for maintaining security. In the table we list in parentheses the condition for each topic that would tend either directly or indirectly to make it more difficult to maintain security. For example, we would expect counterespionage to be more difficult as the degree of perceived threat from external sources declined, since both employees and security personnel might become less diligent in maintaining security and more susceptible to recruitment by "harmless" foreign powers. Similarly, an increase in concerns about personal privacy might lead to legislation restricting counterespionage measures, to a shrinking pool of potential employees who would be willing to subject themselves to security checks and surveillance, or to less cooperation by current employees. In the following section we will examine what current opinion and trends are on each of these topics and how the public's attitudes on these topics impact on intelligence security.

## External Threats

With the end of the Cold War the public's regard for the Soviet Union has increased and the perceived threat from the Soviet Union has declined markedly. For example, in 1982 51% strongly disliked (-4 or -5 on a scale from +5 to -5) the Soviet Union, while in 1990 only 15% felt the same way. Likewise, while 67% saw the Soviet Union as a serious or very serious threat in 1986 only 33% see the same degree of threat in 1990. As long as reform proceeds in the Soviet Union, this movement is likely to continue. At least in part good feelings towards the Soviet Union are likely to grow because the younger cohorts of adult are more favorable towards the Soviet Union than older cohorts. In 1990 only 10% of adults 18-29 strongly disliked the Soviet Union compared to 16% of adults 30 and older.

As of late 1989 however the Soviet Union was still seen as the greatest threat to the United States over the next ten years, followed by Japan, China, Iran, and Libya. It is particularly instructive that Iraq did not make this most threatening list. The absence of Iraq underscores two important points. First, public opinion reflects how people perceive matters according to conditions at the time they are questioned. Changing conditions will change opinion. Second, the "surprise" emergence of the Iraqi threat amply validates President Bush's, pre-invasion warning that in the near future "uncertainty" is our greatest threat.

## Military Preparedness

Support for a strong defense and military preparedness varies inversely with external threat. As the international climate heats up, support grows and when foreign relations improve, support diminishes. Support for defense spending was low in the early 1970s in the immediate aftermath of the Vietnam War. In 1972 only 12% favored more money for the military. Support for more spending slowly grew during the rest of the 1970s until in 1978 29% backed more defense spending. Then the invasion of Afghanistan more than doubled support for defense spending to 60% in 1982. As real defense spending rose in the 1980s and the Soviet threat diminished, support for military expenditures fell until by 1990 it reached an historic low of 11%. (Overall there are little cohort differences on defense spending.)

While support for defense spending has waned in the 1980s, support for disarmament has been strong and growing. In 1990 78% endorsed cuts in nuclear weapons going beyond the currently agreed upon START reductions and 74% favored the elimination of all nuclear weapons. Since the mid-1980s, two-thirds of first-year college students have thought that the United States is not doing enough to promote disarmament and among high school seniors support for gradual, unilateral disarmament climbed from 15% in 1979 to 26% in 1989.

Table 1

Trends in Public Opinion Related to Intelligence Security

- A. External Threat (Less)
- B. Military Preparedness
  - 1. Defense Spending (Less)
  - 2. Disarmament (Approve)
  - 3. Military Service/Draft (Opposed)
- C. Support for the Government and the Military (Less)
- D. Support for CIA
- E. Personal Values
  - 1. Obedience (Reject)
    - a. Children
    - b. Citizens
    - c. Soldiers
  - 2. Honesty (Reject)
    - a. Children
    - b. School
  - 3. Individual Expression (Approve)
- F. Privacy (Approve)
- G. Counterespionage Measures (Oppose)
  - 1. Wiretapping
  - 2. Lie Detectors
  - 3. Drug Testing
  - 4. Employee Screening
  - 5. Personal Information and Credit Checks
  - 6. Other
- H. Freedom of Information Act (Approve)
- I. Media Publication (Approve)
- J. Punishments (Lenient)

At the same time the willingness of high school seniors to serve in the military in a future war has been tepid with only 18% saying that they would be very likely or sure to volunteer. Commitment to military service has however remained virtually unchanged over the last decade. In addition, a military draft has not been popular with high school seniors. In 1989 only 14% favored instituting a military draft, down slightly from 17% in 1981.

Overall, both among the general public and youths support for military spending is at record lows, while support for disarmament is high. There is also a reluctance among youths to serve in a future war or to support a military draft. Support for military service and defense has not changed notably in recent years however.

### **Support for the Government and the Military**

Support for the government in general and the military in particular is indicated by questions about confidence in the leaders of these institutions, the honesty and morality of the leaders, the job these institutions are doing for the country, the amount of influence that they have, and willingness to work for these institutions. Looking at the executive branch and the presidency we see somewhat of a roller coaster trend as confidence and other measures have fallen in response to difficulties and scandals and risen as the elections of new presidents rekindled hope. For example, in 1973 (after the Watergate break-in, but before the disclosures) 30% had a great deal of confidence in the executive branch of the federal government. This fell to 14% in 1974-76 after Watergate became widely known, rebounded to 29% in 1977 with President Carter's inauguration, fell to a record low of 12.5% in 1980 during foreign policy and economic troubles, moved back up with President's Reagan's election, fell again to 13% during the 1982-83 recession, edged up to 21% in 1986, slumped back to 17% in 1988 as the Iran-Contra scandal emerged, and then again gained ground to 24% in 1990 after President Bush's election. The two main lessons from this pattern are 1) there has been no long-term, secular trend in government confidence and 2) confidence is mainly a product of performance; scandals, economic hardship, and foreign policy failures drive down support.

When we examine trends among age groups, we learn a valuable third lesson that is masked among the over trends. Among those 18-29 confidence in 1990 is 6 percentage points higher in 1990 than in 1973, but among all other age groups confidence in 1990 is 10-15 percentage points lower in than in 1973. This suggests that there is a Reagan generation of younger adults who came of political age during the Reagan Era and who have more confidence in the presidency than those who were or became adults during the time of Watergate and the Carter malaise.

Support for the military does not undergo nearly as much fluctuation as presidential support. Among all adults confidence in the military is a bit lower than the early 1970s, but little changed during the 1980s. The young again show a Reagan generation

effect. Among those 18-29 25% had a great deal of confidence in the military in 1973, while 40% did in 1990 (+ 15 percentage points). However, in all older age groups there were slight declines (-1 to -5.5 percentage points) from 1973 to 1990. This pattern of increasing confidence in the military among the young is reflected in the rising percent of high school seniors who see the military as doing a good job (up to 60% in 1989 from 40% in 1980) and the more modest gain in the number who see working for the military as acceptable or desirable (from 22% in 1980 to 26-28% in 1983-1989).

Neither in terms of support for the government nor support for the military is there any signs of political alienation that might indicate a popular unwillingness to back the country or any decline in patriotism.

### Support for the CIA

Since the early 1970s public support for the CIA has been mixed and fluctuating. In the 1970s majorities (52-64%) rated the CIA positively on a 10-point scale, but pluralities rated the job the CIA was doing as "negative" (only fair or poor vs. pretty good or excellent). In the 1980s pluralities or small majorities (38-50%) had favorable impressions of the CIA.

Support weakened in the mid-1970s after Watergate disclosures, then rebounded in the late 1970s. Support probably continued at or above the level of the late 1970s into the mid 1980s, sagged in 1986-87 as Iran-Contra became public, then rebounded by 1990. Support thus has shown short-term declines in the face of political scandals that touched the CIA, but no strong long-term trend.

### Personal Values

#### Obedience

Since most security breaches involve conscious disloyalty (usually against both an employer and the country), the value of obedience is clearly related to intelligence concerns. We have various questions about obedience: parental obedience as a desirable trait for children, citizens obeying the law and government, and soldiers following orders. Parental obedience is highly ranked as a desired trait in children. Out of 13 traits obedience ranks third after honesty and having good sense and sound judgement and is well ahead of good manners, trying hard to succeed, neatness, self-control, acting like a boy/girl, getting along well with other children, being responsible, being considerate of others, being interested in how things happen, and studiousness. There has been little change in the ranking of parental obedience in recent years and little difference across age groups under 50 (those over 50 do rank obedience even higher).

In terms of citizen obedience people are about evenly split between the importance of obeying the law and following their own conscience. For example, in 1990 57% believe there are circumstances under which people should follow their own



consciences and break the law, while 43% believed there were no exceptions. High school students are also deeply divided on the matter of obeying the law. In 1989 42% agreed "You can't be a good citizen unless you always obey the law," 36% disagreed, and 23% neither agreed nor disagreed. Most high school seniors (66% in 1989) do agree that you can be a good citizen if you disagree with the government. Thus, the public is supportive of dissent, but divided about whether people should ever disobey the law. These opinions have shown little change over the last two decades.

On military obedience, in 1975 33% of high school seniors agreed that servicemen should "obey orders without question." This increased to a high of 47% in 1983/84 and has since slipped back to 42% in 1989.

Obedience is and remains an important value to Americans, although loyalty does not extend as far as Stephen Decatur's "our country right or wrong."

### Honesty

Honesty has been consistently ranked as the most important trait for children to have. There has been no change over time in its rank and there are no significant differences across age groups.

There is some information on the actual honesty of Americans, although only in regards to cheating at school and the evidence is contradictory. Among teenagers over half indicate ever having cheated on an examination, while about a third of first-year college students report cheating at least occasionally. Among teenagers the trend shows less cheating now than previously, but more cheating is reported by the college students (who also report an increase in copying homework).

### Individual Expression

By individual expression, we mean the idea that each person should follow his or her own wishes without worrying about conformity. At least among high school seniors support for individual expression has been growing since the 1970s. In 1975 41% believed that people "should do their own thing even if people think it strange" and in 1989 50% endorsed this idea. Similarly, in 1976 30% agreed or mostly agreed that "I get a real kick out of doing things that are a little dangerous" and in 1989 this was 40%.

### Privacy

Personal privacy became an increasing concern of people between 1978 and 1982 (rising from 31% very concerned to 45%), but since 1982 there has been little further increase (46% in 1990). Nor are there any age differences that indicate that incoming generations are more concerned than older generations. In addition a majority feels that laws to protect privacy need to be strengthened.

## Counterespionage Measures

### Wiretapping

Despite the increased concern over privacy, there has not been a decrease in support for intrusive measures such as wiretapping, lie detectors, and drug testing which might be used to detect or deter espionage. When asked about wiretapping in general without any qualification about who is using it or why, only about a quarter of Americans approve. Approval however slowly grew from the 1970s to the present. The lack of significant age differences suggests that generational shifts are not driving this trend forward, however. Approval of wiretapping is notably higher when 1) there is court approval and 2) when the target is a known criminal, a spy, or a terrorist. For example, while only 22% approve of wiretapping a suspect without a criminal record, 46% approve if the suspect has a long criminal record.

### Lie Detectors

Similarly for lie detectors, people tend to object to the wholesale use of these devices, but approve of their use to help solve a theft or in security matters. For example, in 1986 wiretapping was approved by 26% for all current employees of a company, 46% for all government employees, 75% for employees suspected of stealing, and 81% for the "periodic testing of government employees who have access to classified information." The public is also more inclined to support the use of lie detectors than are most government officials and elites.

### Drug Testing

There is widespread support for drug testing of both potential and current employees, both in and outside the government. When it comes to "federal employees involved in national security areas," 93% of the public said they should be "required to take tests for illegal drug use on a regular basis." Only support for the testing of airline pilots at 94% was higher.

### Employee Screening

People are willing to subject potential employees to a number of pre-employment tests and checks. There is little support (only 12% in 1986) for checks on an applicant's "lifestyle or political associations" and only about a third think that lie detector testing should routinely be used, but a majority approve of written "honesty" tests, and 80% or more support checks on one's criminal record and drug testing. While none of the questions specifically asked about employment screening for jobs involving classified materials, it is likely that approval for screening and testing such applicants would be even higher.

## Personal Information and Credit Checks

There is growing concern about credit checks and the disclosure of personal information. In 1990 71% agreed that "Consumers have lost all control over how personal information about them is circulated and used by companies" and only 46% felt that "My privacy rights as a consumer in credit reporting are adequately protected today by law and business practices." In 1978 14% reported that they had decided not to apply for a job, credit, or insurance because they did not want to provide certain information. By 1990 30% reported not applying for this reason. However, people still acknowledge that there are many legitimate reasons for credit checks. In 1990 94% approve of a check when a credit card is applied for and 96% when people want a loan. There is no information unfortunately on credit checks related to security matters.

## Other Measures

Other measures that the public favors to reduce spying are investigating why the FBI and intelligence agencies "have been so slow to find and crack down on spies" (favored by 86%), reducing the number of classified documents so fewer people will handle secret material (80%), and "Firing managers in government operations who turn out to have spies working for them" (63%).

## Freedom of Information Act

Important governmental and military information is available from various published governmental reports, academic research papers, and other public documents. In addition, unpublished and potentially sensitive information may be obtained through the Freedom of Information Act. In the early 1980s, the public opposed proposals to curtail access via the FOIA, even to protect intelligence information. By 1990 however, public support for disclosure appears to have waned. 58% agreed that "federal freedom of information laws have gone too far in letting individuals and businesses get government documents."

## Media Publication

One of the most serious, potential conflicts in our democracy is between the press and government over the publication of classified material. In deciding whether the press should be able to publish classified, government documents or whether the government should be able to maintain its secrets, the public considers whether national security is involved. Large majorities favor the publication of confidential papers that "reveal incompetence or dishonesty by public official (73%)" or are about "economic plans" (61%). Conversely, majorities oppose the publication of "defense plans" (83%). When it comes to "top secret materials" that do not "endanger national security," the public

splits down the middle, 42% favoring publication, 47% opposed, and 11% undecided.

### Punishments

A key indicator of a society's resolve on a matter is its willingness to punish transgressors. Spying and treason are clearly seen as very serious offenses by the American public. While support for capital punishment is highest for murder, there is about as much support for executing spies and traitors as for rapists and hijackers and more support than for executing drug dealers. Support for the death penalty appears to have risen from the 1970s to the mid-1980s, but then declined slightly. As of 1988 42% support the death penalty for "Spying for a foreign nation during peacetime." This decline came about in part because the younger generation is less supportive of the death penalty than older generations are.

What about the punishment of actual spies in actual cases? The only information available concerns the conviction in 1987 of Jonathan Pollard for spying for Israel. On one hand, this case illustrates that people are concerned about what country is behind the espionage and consequently how much threat there is to the United States. When people were asked whether they were more bothered "to learn that Israel spied against the United States or to learn that once again Russia was caught spying against the United States" 46% selected Russia, 26% Israel, 15% both, and 13% unsure. However, the lower concern over Israeli spying did not materially improve the public's attitude toward Pollard. When asked if Pollard's spying made them feel angry, embarrassed, or sympathetic, 48% said angry, 12% embarrassed, 7% sympathetic, 7% something else, and 27% uncertain. Asked to evaluate Pollard's sentence to life in prison, 9% thought it too lenient, 57% correct, 16% too harsh, and 17% undecided. Thus, of those who had an opinion on the matter, 82% felt that life imprisonment (or more) was an appropriate punishment.

### Summary

The task of intelligence security is complicated by American public opinion. Certain attitudes and trends indicate that maintaining vigilance against espionage may become increasingly difficult, but other opinions and changes show support for counterespionage measures.

Of all the changes during the 1980s that are likely to continue into the 1990s, the one that is most likely to undermine counterespionage efforts is the perception of diminished threat from the Soviet Union and the resulting decline in support for military preparedness. It is hard to keep up your guard if you do not perceive an immediate, serious threat.

On the other hand there is no growing disillusionment with either the presidency or the military. In fact, the incoming adult generation tends to have more confidence in governmental and military leaders and be more approving of the job they are doing

than older adult cohorts. There also are no signs of widespread political or social alienation or a weakening of patriotism.

Similarly, while support for the CIA has been moderate rather than strong, there are no signs of long-term decline in support for the intelligence community. In 1990 48% had a favorable view of the CIA, 33% unfavorable, and 19% were unsure.

Our inspection of personal values also shows a mixed pattern. Obedience and honesty are highly rated values and there is no clear evidence that these moral values are eroding. Expressive individualism has been increasing however. This growth in self-centeredness might undermine conformist, security programs.

Similarly, more concern about personal privacy could inhibit the use of intrusive security measures. For now at least, this has not materialized. People are often supportive of such counterespionage measures as wiretapping, lie detectors, drug testing, employment screening, background checks, and other measures. While the public generally finds such intrusions objectionable, they generally accept them as justifiable when national security is involved.

This same distinction is important when considering intelligence leaks via the media (and the Freedom of Information Act). People support freedom of the press and do not want the government to be able to stifle whistleblowers or to block the publication of most governmental information. But again, people make a distinction when national security information is involved. In fact, the public appears to be more willing to prevent the publication of defense materials than are the courts.

When it comes to the act of espionage itself, people consider it a serious crime. There is substantial (but not majority) support for the death penalty and this support has remained strong over the last decade. In addition, the Pollard case in 1987 suggests that it is the act of disloyalty itself and not who one spies for or why that primarily determines attitudes towards punishment. Few Americans sympathized with Pollard and a solid majority backed the imposition of a life sentence.

### Conclusion

Given the changed nature of perceived threat in the post-Cold War world, counterespionage efforts need to adjust in several ways. First, rather than seeing threat in terms of Communism and/or the Soviet Union, one should emphasize that threat could come from changing and unexpected quarters. It may be from old rivals, new enemies, duplicitous allies, foreign terrorists, domestic radicals, or industrial spies. The very circumstance of uncertainty necessitates greater rather than lesser vigilance in security matters.

Second, one may need to deemphasize "threat" as the main rationale for maintaining security. Loyalty, obedience, and honesty could be given greater weight as reasons that secrets must be kept. In addition, professionalism and competence might be given more importance.

Third, security personnel must be aware that people are leery of threats to privacy, compromises of freedom of the press, and other challenges to civil liberties. Currently when balancing these concerns against military and foreign policy matters, most people are willing to give great weight to national security. But the public's attitudes result from a delicate balancing of these often competing interests and ignoring or abusing civil liberties could help to tip the scale against the use of intrusive measures to protect national security.

Finally, just as you need to be responsive to changes in the technology of spying; you need to monitor, understand, and adjust to changes in public opinion. The trends we have followed and tried to project into the future will eventually shift in unanticipated ways as unexpected events unfold. In addition, new issues will emerge that may impinge on security matters in ways that we do not now foresee. To understand societal trends you need good raw intelligence in the form of surveys asking the right questions and good intelligence analysis to interpret the survey data. Understanding the climate of opinion will allow you to tailor your programs to best meet the security challenges of the 1990s.

### Studies

ABC/WP: ABC/Washington Post  
AP/MG: Associated Press/Media General  
Canada: Institute for Social Research, York University  
CBS/NYT: CBS/New York Times  
CF: College Freshmen, Cooperative Institutional Research Program,  
University of California, Los Angeles  
Gallup: Gallup Organization  
Gallup-Teens: Gallup Organization, Teen Survey  
Harris: Louis Harris and Associates  
LAT: Los Angeles Times  
MFT: Monitoring the Future, Institute for Social Research,  
University of Michigan  
MORI: Minnesota Opinion Research Institute  
MOR: Market Opinion Research  
MS: Market Strategies  
NORC/GSS: General Social Survey, National Opinion Research Center,  
University of Chicago  
ORC: Opinion Research Corporation  
PAF: Public Agenda Foundation  
Roper: Roper Organization  
YANK: Various Yankelovich organizations

## I. Trends in Attitudes

### External Threat

NORC/GSS: You will notice that the boxes on this card go from the highest position of "plus 5" for a country you like very much, to the lowest position of "minus 5" for a country you dislike very much. How far up or how far down the scale would you rate the following countries?

#### Russia

	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	
1974	3.0%	3.3	12.8	10.8	18.0	11.1	5.3	8.6	3.8	23.2	(1411)
1975	2.8%	2.7	13.1	11.0	17.3	11.3	5.6	9.0	4.9	22.2	(1386)
1977	2.2%	1.5	8.7	7.2	14.4	12.8	5.7	9.4	5.7	32.4	(1415)
1982	1.4%	1.2	4.7	4.7	10.7	10.4	6.1	9.5	6.1	45.3	(1445)
1983	0.7%	1.0	3.7	4.8	12.3	12.9	7.7	13.3	7.7	36.0	(1528)
1985	1.7%	1.2	3.6	4.6	12.1	12.1	8.0	11.8	7.0	38.1	(1450)
1986	1.4%	1.2	7.3	7.6	16.3	13.7	7.3	11.7	5.9	27.5	(1405)
1988	2.9%	2.4	9.4	10.9	21.4	11.0	5.6	9.5	4.2	22.9	( 930)
1989	4.2%	4.4	11.7	12.9	22.0	10.8	6.7	6.7	3.3	17.2	( 951)
1990	6.6%	4.6	15.7	24.5	22.0	10.8	4.0	4.2	2.3	12.6	( 876)

CBS/NYT: Do you believe the military threat from the Soviet Union is constantly growing and presents a real, immediate danger to the United States, or not?

	Yes, Danger	No, Danger	DK	
4/1983	57%	37	6	(1489)
9/1983	63%	30	7	(1587)
1/1985	52%	39	9	(1525)
2/1985	54%	42	5	(1533)
9/1985	53%	39	9	(1277)
10/1987	31%	67	2	(1002)
5/1989	26%	65	9	(1073)

Note: 10/87 done by Marttila and Kiley



Various: How much of a threat would you say the Soviet Union is to the United States these days -- a very serious threat, a serious threat, a minor threat, or not a threat at all?

	Very Serious	Serious	Minor	Not a Threat At All	DK	
3/1986	20%	47	25	6	2	(1148)
4/1986	13%	40	33	12	2	(1505)
5/1986	9%	37	40	12	2	(1506)
11/1987	15%	45	31	8	-	(1000)
1/1988	16%	41	32	8	-	(1000)
4/1988	17%	36	32	12	-	(1000)
5/1988	11%	37	39	12	2	(1500)
6/1988	18%	42	29	8	3	(1006)
12/1988	9%	35	44	10	2	(1000)
6/1989	9%	31	45	14	-	(1546)
2/1990	7%	26	49	16	-	(1000)

ABC/WP=1986-1987, 5/88, 6/89  
MOR=1/88, 4/88, 12/88  
YANK=6/88  
MS=2/90

LAT: In your opinion, which of the following countries represents the greatest threat to the United States over the next ten years?

12/89

Soviet Union	24%
Japan	16
China	14
Iran	8
Libya	4
Germany	2
Lebanon	2
South Africa	1
Other	11
DK	18

(2095)

## National Security

NORC/GSS: We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount.

### The Military, Armaments, and Defense

	Too Little	About Right	Too Much	
1973	11.9%	47.8	40.3	(1407)
1974	18.1%	48.6	33.3	(1380)
1975	17.8%	49.0	33.2	(1387)
1976	25.8%	45.0	29.2	(1395)
1977	25.7%	49.4	24.9	(1404)
1978	29.2%	47.1	23.6	(1413)
1980	60.2%	27.5	12.3	(1370)
1982	30.9%	37.6	31.6	(1426)
1983	25.6%	40.0	34.4	(1506)
1984	17.9%	42.6	39.4	( 469)
1985	14.8%	43.6	41.6	( 722)
1986	17.1%	40.4	42.5	( 691)
1987	15.3%	42.3	42.3	( 463)
1988	16.8%	42.4	40.8	( 672)
1989	15.4%	43.1	41.5	( 721)
1990	10.9%	45.0	44.2	( 634)

CF: Mark one in each row.

Federal military spending should be increased.

	Agree Strongly or Somewhat
1982	38.8%
1983	36.9%
1984	32.5%
1985	26.8%
1986	26.9%
1987	26.2%
1988	26.3%
1989	24.5%

ABC/WP: Do you agree or disagree that it would be a good thing for the United States and the Soviet Union to make further cuts right now in nuclear arms?

If Yes:

Should those cuts in nuclear arms be minor cuts, major cuts, or almost total cuts?

1990

Minor Cuts	24%
Major Cuts	37
Almost Total Cuts	17
No further Cuts	20
DK	1

(1526)

MS: This idea of cutting long range nuclear forces by about half is embodied in the Strategic Arms Reduction or START Treaty now scheduled for signing by the United States and the Soviet Union at the June (1990) summit meeting. Some people have proposed further rounds of cuts by all countries with nuclear weapons which would eventually eliminate nuclear weapons. Do you approve or disapprove of a treaty that would lead to the elimination of all nuclear weapons?

If Approve/Disapprove?

Would that be strongly approve/disapprove or just somewhat approve/disapprove?

1990

Strongly Approve	60%
Somewhat Approve	14
Somewhat Disapprove	10
Strongly Disapprove	12
Don't Know	4

(1000)

CF: Mark one in each row.

The federal government is not doing enough to promote disarmament.

Agree Strongly or  
Somewhat

1984	65.6%
1985	66.0%
1986	66.0%
1987	70.9%
1988	66.7%
1989	68.1%

MTF: The U.S. should begin a gradual program of disarming whether other countries do or not.

	Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither	Mostly Agree	Agree	
1975	30.5%	21.2	31.9	11.1	5.2	(2623)
1976	43.5%	18.1	20.3	11.4	6.0	(2944)
1977	42.6%	20.6	20.6	10.4	5.9	(3124)
1978	44.5%	18.4	19.8	11.8	5.5	(3692)
1979	45.5%	18.8	20.7	10.0	5.1	(3278)
1980	47.0%	17.0	20.3	9.5	6.2	(3234)
1981	47.3%	17.8	19.1	9.9	5.9	(3564)
1982	42.6%	17.5	19.5	12.4	8.0	(3611)
1983	40.3%	17.7	20.4	12.5	8.4	(3387)
1984	40.1%	17.7	19.5	14.3	8.4	(3260)
1985	37.5%	19.2	18.9	14.6	9.8	(3265)
1986	39.8%	18.0	18.6	15.1	8.5	(3104)
1987	35.6%	18.4	19.8	16.5	9.7	(3297)
1988	35.6%	20.7	19.2	15.6	9.0	(3297)
1989	35.6%	19.1	19.6	16.8	9.0	(2844)

MFT: The U.S. ought to have much more military power than any other nation in the world.

1975	12.1%	18.3	34.7	18.6	16.4	(2607)
1976	14.2%	17.7	26.7	20.4	21.1	(2968)
1977	14.3%	18.8	25.2	19.8	21.9	(3132)
1978	14.7%	16.1	25.7	21.1	22.4	(3711)
1979	13.5%	17.8	24.5	20.5	23.7	(3288)
1980	12.2%	14.9	24.9	22.5	25.5	(3273)
1981	11.8%	15.4	22.4	21.7	28.7	(3584)
1982	15.0%	16.4	24.7	20.0	23.9	(3818)
1983	15.2%	18.9	25.5	19.1	21.3	(3390)
1984	17.0%	19.4	25.0	18.5	20.1	(3267)
1985	19.5%	18.4	25.8	18.1	18.2	(3274)
1986	17.2%	18.7	25.9	18.6	19.6	(3114)
1987	17.6%	19.8	28.4	16.2	17.9	(2845)
1988	17.7%	20.8	27.4	16.9	17.2	(3296)
1989	17.6%	19.8	28.4	16.2	17.9	(2845)

NORC/GSS: We all know that American citizens have certain rights. For example, they have the right to free public education and to police protection, the right to attend religious services of their choice, and the right to elect public officials.

I'd like to ask now about certain obligations that some people feel American citizens owe their country. I just want to know your opinion on these--whether you feel it is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country.

How about, for young men, serving in the military during peacetime? For young men, serving in the military when the country is at war?

1984

	Peace	War
Very Important	33.1%	84.0%
Somewhat Important	49.0	13.6
No Obligation	17.9	2.4
	(1430)	(1436)

MFT: If you felt it was necessary for the U.S. to fight in some future war, how likely is it that you would volunteer for military service in that war?

- 1=I'm sure that I would volunteer
- 2=I would very likely volunteer.
- 3=I would probably volunteer.
- 4=I would probably not volunteer.
- 5=I would very likely not volunteer.
- 6=I would definitely not volunteer.
- 7=In my opinion, there is no such thing as a 'necessary' war.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
1976	9.5%	6.6	14.0	22.2	8.8	14.8	24.2	(2558)
1977	8.4%	6.6	15.2	21.6	9.2	16.3	22.7	(2620)
1978	7.9%	5.5	15.6	22.0	9.0	16.2	23.9	(3065)
1979	9.2%	5.2	15.6	18.8	8.4	18.7	24.0	(2763)
1980	10.3%	7.1	17.3	18.9	9.2	18.3	18.9	(2758)
1981	12.3%	7.8	18.2	18.0	8.3	15.2	20.2	(3112)
1982	12.3%	6.9	18.5	17.9	7.1	14.0	23.4	(3018)
1983	14.5%	7.4	18.6	17.3	6.7	13.7	21.9	(2710)
1984	14.9%	7.3	17.2	17.5	6.6	14.6	21.8	(2705)
1985	14.2%	7.5	16.4	17.1	7.9	15.0	21.9	(2641)
1986	13.9%	6.1	16.6	19.5	8.4	16.6	18.9	(2655)
1987	11.7%	6.6	17.6	16.4	7.9	16.8	23.1	(2768)

MFT: Do you favor or oppose a military draft at the present time?

	Strongly Oppose	Mostly Oppose	No Opinion, Mixed	Mostly Favor	Strongly Favor	
1981	29.1%	23.1	30.5	12.1	5.2	(3107)
1982	26.1%	18.6	36.6	12.9	5.8	(3162)
1983	21.4%	19.2	40.8	12.4	6.2	(2924)
1984	22.4%	19.6	38.8	12.7	6.4	(2835)
1985	23.5%	18.3	40.1	12.5	5.6	(2829)
1986	23.8%	18.8	40.2	11.5	5.6	(2760)
1987	25.5%	17.1	41.3	10.8	5.2	(2849)
1988	27.2%	17.3	41.7	9.2	4.6	(2856)
1989	27.9%	15.6	42.7	8.4	5.3	(2474)

## Government and the Military

NORC/GSS: I am going to name some institutions in this country. As far as the people running these institutions are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them?

### Executive Branch of the Federal Government

	Great Deal	Only Some	Hardly Any	
1973	29.9%	51.4	18.7	(1469)
1974	13.9%	43.4	42.6	(1450)
1975	13.7%	56.1	30.3	(1450)
1976	13.9%	60.3	25.8	(1449)
1977	28.8%	56.2	15.0	(1477)
1978	12.9%	61.4	25.7	(1479)
1980	12.5%	52.0	35.5	(1416)
1982	19.7%	55.2	25.1	(1465)
1983	13.3%	56.2	30.5	(1545)
1984	19.0%	51.7	29.4	( 954)
1986	21.2%	54.6	24.2	(1427)
1987	19.1%	53.5	27.4	(1416)
1988	17.1%	55.2	27.2	( 960)
1989	20.5%	56.6	22.9	( 984)
1990	24.2%	51.9	23.9	( 869)

### Military

1973	32.6%	50.9	16.5	(1457)
1974	40.7%	45.6	13.8	(1444)
1975	37.0%	48.0	15.0	(1418)
1976	41.7%	44.0	14.2	(1399)
1977	37.5%	51.9	10.6	(1478)
1978	30.6%	56.0	13.3	(1472)
1980	28.8%	54.3	16.9	(1406)
1982	31.4%	53.4	15.3	(1467)
1983	30.2%	56.4	13.4	(1548)
1984	37.1%	49.8	13.2	( 950)
1986	32.3%	53.7	14.0	(1429)
1987	35.6%	51.7	12.7	(1415)
1988	35.1%	51.0	13.9	( 963)
1989	33.8%	52.1	14.0	( 990)
1990	33.6%	52.6	13.9	( 873)



MFT: Now we'd like you to make some ratings of how honest and moral people are who run the following organizations. To what extent are there problems of dishonesty and immorality in the leadership of \_\_\_\_\_?

#### Large Corporations

	Not At All	Slight	Moderate	Consider- able	Great	No Opinion	
1975	2.4%	9.2	28.1	32.8	13.1	14.5	(2879)
1976	3.5%	13.5	31.1	28.1	9.2	14.7	(2718)
1977	4.1%	13.1	29.9	28.4	9.3	15.2	(2835)
1978	3.1%	14.6	30.6	26.5	9.1	16.0	(3373)
1979	2.8%	13.6	31.7	27.9	9.7	14.3	(2995)
1980	3.0%	15.0	31.4	27.2	8.9	14.5	(3015)
1981	3.8%	14.5	33.0	26.2	9.0	13.5	(3311)
1982	3.2%	17.7	35.0	23.0	7.0	14.2	(3330)
1983	2.4%	15.6	35.1	24.1	7.0	15.8	(3111)
1984	3.5%	17.1	37.2	20.6	4.9	16.7	(3001)
1985	3.7%	17.2	36.2	22.1	5.3	15.6	(3019)
1986	3.5%	17.8	35.7	21.1	4.6	17.3	(2891)
1987	2.5%	15.1	36.6	21.2	6.7	17.9	(3027)
1988	3.2%	14.7	36.8	22.8	6.4	16.1	(3025)
1989	3.3%	17.3	33.6	22.3	6.5	17.0	(2661)

#### The President and his Administration

1975	6.0%	14.0	19.4	24.3	25.4	10.8	(2867)
1976	3.5%	17.2	28.4	24.9	15.0	11.0	(2698)
1977	4.8%	21.5	27.7	22.0	10.4	13.5	(2794)
1978	3.7%	19.5	29.7	22.3	11.6	13.2	(3337)
1979	4.2%	18.0	29.5	23.5	13.1	11.6	(2976)
1980	3.8%	21.4	31.1	21.0	11.5	11.2	(2971)
1981	5.1%	24.7	30.0	18.2	9.1	12.8	(3285)
1982	4.5%	22.8	30.5	20.1	10.4	11.7	(3297)
1983	4.5%	20.9	29.3	20.8	10.2	14.2	(3080)
1984	5.8%	23.7	30.6	19.3	7.9	12.7	(2965)
1985	5.3%	23.2	29.3	19.1	8.7	14.4	(2996)
1986	7.0%	23.3	29.2	18.7	6.7	15.0	(2872)
1987	4.8%	19.7	29.9	21.1	10.2	14.2	(2992)
1988	4.7%	19.2	32.0	21.0	10.1	13.0	(3008)
1989	4.5%	20.8	27.2	23.0	9.6	14.9	(2643)

# The U.S. Military

1975	7.6%	24.4	24.7	17.3	8.6	17.3	(2865)
1976	6.7%	29.1	24.5	13.4	6.8	19.4	(2687)
1977	6.9%	25.9	27.0	13.2	7.5	19.5	(2780)
1978	8.5%	26.5	25.9	13.5	6.8	18.8	(3323)
1979	7.5%	26.2	26.6	14.6	7.2	17.9	(2957)
1980	8.5%	25.5	26.1	14.5	7.4	18.0	(2957)
1981	8.2%	27.2	25.9	13.9	6.9	17.9	(3264)
1982	7.1%	27.7	25.8	14.8	8.5	16.1	(3280)
1983	7.8%	26.6	25.4	13.3	7.4	19.6	(3075)
1984	7.5%	24.4	25.3	16.2	8.4	18.2	(2955)
1985	7.4%	24.8	26.2	15.8	8.3	17.5	(2988)
1986	8.6%	24.6	25.8	15.2	8.6	17.1	(2865)
1987	7.5%	24.6	26.0	15.5	9.0	17.3	(2992)
1988	7.0%	24.5	26.2	16.2	8.4	17.7	(2994)
1989	7.0%	21.4	26.4	16.2	9.4	19.7	(2636)

MFT: Now we'd like you to make some ratings of how good or bad a job you feel each of the following organizations is doing for the country as a whole. For each one, mark the circle that best describes how you feel. How good or bad a job is being done for the country as a whole by \_\_\_\_\_?

#### Large Corporations

	Very Poor	Poor	Fair	Good	Very Good	No Opinion	
1975	8.5%	17.4	35.0	22.4	4.5	12.3	(2904)
1976	5.0%	14.4	35.0	25.5	5.8	14.2	(2971)
1977	5.0%	12.4	34.8	27.2	5.2	15.3	(3109)
1978	4.1%	10.2	34.7	30.2	6.9	14.0	(3727)
1979	4.8%	11.8	35.5	27.0	5.8	15.1	(3264)
1980	6.1%	15.8	35.9	24.0	5.1	13.1	(3253)
1981	3.7%	12.0	35.6	28.1	6.8	13.7	(3616)
1982	4.4%	12.3	36.3	28.1	5.5	13.4	(3649)
1983	2.7%	9.6	33.6	31.1	7.6	15.4	(3332)
1984	2.1%	6.0	30.7	36.6	8.8	15.7	(3234)
1985	1.9%	6.3	29.3	34.6	10.3	17.6	(3238)
1986	1.9%	5.8	26.7	37.2	10.4	17.9	(3136)
1987	1.8%	5.3	27.4	36.8	10.1	18.7	(3321)
1988	2.1%	5.9	26.1	36.7	10.7	18.5	(3327)
1989	2.6%	6.5	27.5	34.8	10.3	18.3	(2817)

#### The President and his Administration

1975	14.1%	18.3	36.8	16.6	3.3	10.9	(2903)
1976	11.0%	16.6	38.7	19.7	4.1	9.9	(2973)
1977	5.4%	8.1	31.5	31.2	10.2	13.5	(3106)
1978	10.1%	15.8	37.8	21.4	4.8	10.2	(3737)
1979	12.1%	20.0	37.7	17.4	3.7	9.1	(3261)
1980	16.9%	21.8	34.3	15.3	3.9	7.8	(3261)
1981	7.0%	9.4	28.7	30.8	12.0	12.2	(3609)
1982	14.7%	17.1	31.4	21.1	7.5	8.2	(3645)
1983	12.6%	16.4	31.2	22.8	8.3	8.7	(3335)
1984	7.8%	10.6	28.3	30.6	13.3	9.5	(3238)
1985	7.9%	10.1	27.0	29.3	16.6	9.2	(3238)
1986	5.8%	7.8	23.1	32.6	21.8	8.8	(3128)
1987	9.8%	13.9	30.6	25.4	9.8	10.4	(3323)
1988	8.7%	13.1	31.6	25.8	9.5	11.4	(3334)
1989	6.0%	10.2	32.1	27.4	9.0	15.3	(2812)

# The U.S. Military

1975	4.9%	5.4	26.3	34.4	17.8	11.2	(2911)
1976	3.5%	5.5	24.3	34.8	19.6	12.3	(2978)
1977	3.2%	4.8	24.4	35.6	17.5	14.6	(3104)
1978	2.7%	4.4	25.0	34.6	18.6	14.8	(3728)
1979	4.2%	7.7	28.7	31.9	13.7	13.7	(3259)
1980	6.1%	11.4	28.5	29.1	11.2	13.7	(3247)
1981	4.9%	10.5	29.3	29.8	13.3	12.2	(3604)
1982	4.1%	6.4	25.7	34.2	16.6	12.9	(3638)
1983	3.2%	4.7	23.5	36.7	19.6	12.3	(3327)
1984	2.4%	3.2	22.2	36.6	24.8	11.2	(3238)
1985	2.3%	3.1	22.0	37.5	22.7	12.3	(3235)
1986	2.2%	2.1	15.8	37.2	29.2	13.4	(3115)
1987	2.3%	3.0	17.7	38.2	24.0	14.9	(3317)
1988	3.0%	2.8	19.3	37.8	23.1	14.0	(3329)
1989	2.8%	3.1	20.3	36.9	23.2	13.7	(2811)

MFT: Some people think that there ought to be changes in the amount of influence and power that certain organizations have in our society. Do you think the following organizations should have more influence, less influence or about the same amount of influence as they have now?

#### Large Corporations

	Much Less	Less	Same as Now	More	Much More	No Opinion	
1975	13.2%	37.1	25.6	8.4	3.2	12.4	(2929)
1976	12.5%	39.0	25.0	7.6	3.2	12.7	(2947)
1977	11.6%	36.9	27.4	7.8	3.4	13.0	(3098)
1978	9.3%	35.3	30.0	8.5	3.2	13.7	(3694)
1979	11.8%	35.3	29.3	7.7	3.0	13.0	(3266)
1980	13.0%	35.3	26.8	9.4	3.2	12.2	(3208)
1981	8.3%	35.8	29.6	10.1	3.4	12.7	(3596)
1982	7.2%	31.1	34.2	10.1	4.0	13.5	(2619)
1983	6.1%	29.4	36.9	10.5	3.4	13.7	(3278)
1984	4.8%	27.0	39.3	10.2	4.4	14.3	(3225)
1985	5.4%	27.1	39.0	10.3	3.5	14.6	(3227)
1986	4.5%	25.9	39.5	11.0	3.7	15.5	(3071)
1987	4.7%	24.1	40.8	11.4	3.7	15.3	(3324)
1988	3.9%	22.6	41.7	11.8	4.7	15.4	(3288)
1989	5.0%	22.3	39.1	13.2	4.4	15.9	(2824)

#### The Presidency and the Administration

	Much Less	Less	Same as Now	More	Much More	No Opinion	
1975	6.3%	19.3	33.9	17.6	10.5	12.3	(2917)
1976	5.1%	17.4	38.2	16.5	9.9	12.8	(2946)
1977	3.3%	11.5	40.2	20.8	11.6	12.5	(3091)
1978	4.3%	12.3	39.6	20.8	11.9	11.0	(3695)
1979	4.8%	13.4	37.0	22.5	10.9	11.5	(3249)
1980	4.4%	10.9	32.4	25.6	15.8	10.9	(3201)
1981	4.0%	10.3	35.7	25.5	15.5	9.1	(3590)
1982	5.1%	14.5	36.5	21.3	11.8	10.8	(3624)
1983	4.2%	11.7	39.4	21.1	11.7	11.9	(3276)
1984	4.3%	9.6	40.7	23.2	12.2	10.1	(3225)
1985	4.0%	11.6	40.6	21.4	11.3	11.1	(3222)
1986	3.1%	9.8	42.9	22.4	11.0	10.8	(3077)
1987	4.3%	10.4	39.4	21.4	12.4	12.1	(3321)
1988	3.3%	10.6	41.4	22.4	10.8	11.4	(3285)
1989	4.0%	10.1	39.8	21.9	12.3	11.8	(2823)

# The U.S. Military

1975	5.5%	9.4	41.4	19.3	13.2	11.2	(2911)
1976	4.8%	8.7	39.7	21.1	13.4	12.5	(2945)
1977	3.8%	8.5	41.7	21.3	11.2	13.6	(3091)
1978	4.3%	8.0	40.3	21.1	14.4	11.8	(3691)
1979	5.2%	8.7	39.4	22.3	13.1	11.4	(3256)
1980	4.3%	7.5	32.3	26.4	18.8	10.8	(3207)
1981	4.4%	7.6	32.1	24.8	20.5	10.6	(3588)
1982	5.3%	9.0	34.6	23.8	17.4	10.0	(3629)
1983	3.8%	8.0	37.4	24.0	15.8	11.0	(3275)
1984	4.8%	8.2	37.7	22.4	16.9	10.0	(3227)
1985	5.3%	10.3	38.8	20.2	13.6	11.7	(3221)
1986	4.2%	8.1	39.5	21.6	15.7	10.9	(3072)
1987	4.7%	9.3	38.9	21.7	12.8	12.5	(3322)
1988	4.0%	8.2	38.5	23.3	14.2	11.7	(3281)
1989	4.4%	8.9	38.0	21.8	15.1	11.8	(2822)

MFT: Apart from the particular kind of work you want to do, how would you rate each of the following settings as a place of work?

Working in a Government Agency

	Not at all Acceptable	Somewhat Acceptable	Acceptable	Desirable	
1975	15.2%	25.5	40.3	18.9	(2967)
1976	21.1%	27.2	33.1	18.1	(2979)
1977	20.2%	28.2	34.0	17.6	(3081)
1978	22.2%	32.0	31.4	14.5	(3741)
1979	21.6%	30.8	31.1	16.5	(3278)
1980	20.6%	32.7	31.7	15.9	(3255)
1981	20.5%	32.6	31.1	15.7	(3633)
1982	21.1%	33.8	30.6	14.5	(3585)
1983	19.3%	32.6	30.7	17.4	(3308)
1984	18.3%	30.8	33.9	16.9	(3275)
1985	16.0%	29.8	35.4	18.8	(3258)
1986	16.4%	29.8	34.3	19.5	(3048)
1987	16.9%	30.5	35.3	17.4	(3328)
1988	15.1%	30.2	34.3	20.4	(3307)
1989	15.8%	27.1	36.7	20.4	(2828)

Working in the Military Services

1975	39.2%	29.4	20.9	10.5	(2974)
1976	39.2%	29.1	20.6	11.2	(2983)
1977	43.7%	29.6	17.6	9.2	(3079)
1978	44.8%	29.1	18.3	7.8	(3733)
1979	48.7%	27.7	16.9	6.7	(3278)
1980	48.9%	28.7	15.5	6.9	(3258)
1981	47.3%	28.7	16.0	8.0	(3626)
1982	46.1%	29.2	16.9	7.7	(3585)
1983	43.5%	28.1	17.5	10.9	(3309)
1984	44.0%	30.2	17.1	8.7	(3275)
1985	44.2%	28.6	17.1	10.1	(3257)
1986	44.8%	28.2	16.6	10.5	(3048)
1987	44.6%	27.7	17.5	10.2	(3333)
1988	46.0%	28.1	16.6	9.3	(3308)
1989	47.9%	25.1	16.2	10.7	(2829)

# CIA

Gallup: Here is an interesting experiment. You notice that the boxes on this card go from the highest position of plus 5 for something you like very much--all the way down to the lowest position of minus five--for something you dislike very much. How far up the scale or how far down the scale would you rate the following organizations?

## CIA (Central Intelligence Agency)

	7/1973	11/1975	9/1979
+5	13%	8%	9%
+4	10	6	9
+3	18	11	13
+2	13	11	15
+1	13	16	17
-1	5	10	8
-2	4	6	5
-3	3	7	4
-4	2	4	2
-5	5	12	6
Don't Know	14	10	14
	(1544)	(1515)	(1538)

Harris: How would you rate the job the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) is doing as the chief foreign intelligence agency of the U.S. government--excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

	12/1974	8/1975	12/1975 <sup>1</sup>	11/1978 <sup>2</sup>
Positive	31%	36%	32%	34%
Negative	39	45	49	43
Not Sure	30	19	19	23
	(1513)	(1403)	(1394)	(1546)

<sup>1</sup> How would you rate the job being done by the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency)--excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

<sup>2</sup> Gallup



Gallup: I'd like your opinion on some people. As I read from a list, please tell me which category on this card best describes your overall opinion of who I name. Probably, there will be some names on this list that you have never heard of. How would you describe your opinion of ...

The C.I.A. (Central Intelligence Agency)

	6/1985	7/1986	12/1986	4/1987	5/1990 <sup>1</sup>
Very Favorable	7%	7%	6%	5%	8%
Favorable	43	43	32	35	40
Unfavorable	23	18	23	35	22
Very Unfav.	10	6	11	11	11
Not Rated	18	26	28	14	19
	(2104)	(1504)	(4244)	(3004)	(1500)

<sup>1</sup> Princeton Survey Research Associates

## Personal Values

### Obedience

NORC/GSS: Which three qualities listed on this card would you say are the most desirable for a child to have?

Which one of these three is the most desirable of all?

All of the qualities listed on this card may be desirable, but could you tell me which three you consider least important?

And which one of these is the least important of all?

Most Desirable	Three Most Desirable	Not Chosen	Three Least Desirable	Least Desirable	
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That he/the child obeys his/his or her parents well

1973	13.3%	14.4	64.6	6.8	0.9	(1500)
1974	14.5%	18.8	59.8	6.0	0.8	(1481)
1975	13.8%	16.0	64.2	5.6	0.5	(1490)
1976	14.9%	15.7	63.5	5.3	0.6	(1520)
1980	10.2%	18.2	64.0	5.5	2.0	( 498)
1980	18.5%	13.6	62.2	4.9	0.8	( 487)
1983	16.0%	18.3	59.7	5.6	0.4	(1579)
1984	15.5%	17.2	61.8	4.2	0.6	(1438)
1986	21.2%	16.2	57.8	4.2	0.6	( 716)

NORC/GSS: If you had to choose, which thing on this list would you pick as the most important for a child to learn to prepare him or her for life? Which comes next in importance? Which comes third? Which comes fourth?

To Obey

	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	
1986	23.0%	15.8	16.0	32.1	13.1	(732)
1987	20.7%	12.7	15.1	31.1	20.3	(1452)
1988	23.1%	12.5	19.5	29.3	15.6	( 977)
1989	19.9%	13.7	16.8	32.9	16.7	(1000)
1990	18.9%	12.4	19.1	32.7	16.9	( 871)

MFT: These next questions ask your opinion about a number of topics. How much do you agree or disagree with each statement below.

I feel that you can't be a good citizen unless you always obey the law.

	Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither	Agree	Mostly Agree	
1976	17.8%	16.7	17.2	35.1	13.1	(3011)
1977	19.2%	16.5	19.2	33.9	11.2	(3174)
1978	20.2%	16.8	17.0	34.2	11.7	(3762)
1979	17.6%	18.3	19.9	33.5	10.8	(3350)
1980	16.8%	16.3	19.1	35.8	12.0	(3282)
1981	17.7%	17.2	19.6	33.6	12.0	(3594)
1982	16.6%	17.8	18.3	34.5	12.9	(3657)
1983	19.0%	16.1	19.2	33.3	12.4	(3419)
1984	17.1%	18.4	19.5	33.1	11.9	(3277)
1985	19.2%	18.2	19.7	31.7	10.9	(3281)
1986	19.6%	18.3	21.1	30.4	10.5	(3150)
1987	20.1%	20.0	22.3	29.0	8.6	(3340)
1988	18.2%	19.1	21.1	30.7	10.9	(3366)
1989	18.2%	17.3	22.7	32.6	9.2	(2844)

I feel a good citizen should go along with whatever the government does even if he disagrees with it.

1976	42.0%	24.1	16.0	13.0	5.0	(3007)
1977	41.2%	22.9	16.1	14.3	5.5	(3171)
1978	43.2%	24.0	15.9	12.7	4.2	(3761)
1979	42.2%	24.9	15.5	12.8	4.5	(3350)
1980	36.6%	24.3	17.8	16.1	5.2	(3275)
1981	37.0%	24.8	15.8	16.5	5.9	(3593)
1982	37.6%	26.1	17.2	14.0	5.2	(3648)
1983	38.9%	24.8	17.9	13.0	5.4	(3419)
1984	39.6%	25.3	17.2	12.5	5.4	(3279)
1985	40.8%	23.8	17.3	13.3	4.7	(3278)
1986	39.0%	24.9	18.3	13.5	4.3	(3150)
1987	44.1%	25.5	16.3	10.6	3.5	(3341)
1988	40.9%	25.9	18.7	10.3	4.3	(3357)
1989	40.3%	25.3	19.1	11.5	3.8	(2841)

NORC/GSS: In general, would you say that people should obey the law without exception, or are there exceptional occasions on which people should follow their consciences even if it means breaking the law?

	Obey Law	Follow Conscience	
1985	43.2%	56.8	( 623)
1990	42.9%	57.1	(1110)

CF: Mark one in each row.

People should not obey laws which violate their personal values.

	Agree Strongly or Somewhat
1974	33.6%
1975	31.8%
1976	31.9%
1977	32.0%
1978	32.2%
1979	33.3%
1980	32.3%
1981	32.5%

MFT: Servicemen should obey orders without question.

	Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither	Mostly Agree	Agree	
1975	16.5%	23.0	27.8	22.0	10.6	(2618)
1976	20.0%	22.1	18.7	26.4	12.9	(2972)
1977	19.6%	21.8	18.2	25.9	14.5	(3137)
1978	18.0%	21.2	20.4	26.7	13.7	(3717)
1979	17.3%	21.2	20.4	28.1	13.1	(3278)
1980	15.7%	18.2	22.1	28.7	15.4	(3259)
1981	14.0%	18.4	20.1	30.5	17.0	(3590)
1982	14.7%	18.2	21.7	29.1	16.3	(3612)
1983	13.1%	18.0	21.7	30.1	17.1	(3386)
1984	13.1%	18.8	21.2	29.6	17.4	(3254)
1985	14.7%	17.6	22.6	30.2	14.9	(3268)
1986	13.5%	18.9	22.2	28.6	16.8	(3109)
1987	13.5%	19.8	23.9	27.5	15.2	(3301)
1988	12.6%	19.2	25.4	27.3	15.5	(3295)
1989	14.2%	19.2	25.0	26.5	15.1	(2839)

## Honesty

NORC/GSS: Which three qualities listed on this card would you say are the most desirable for a child to have?

Which one of these three is the most desirable of all?

All of the qualities listed on this card may be desirable, but could you tell me which three you consider least important?

And which one of these is the least important of all?

Most Desirable	Three Most Desirable	Not Chosen	Three Least Desirable	Least Desirable
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That he/the child is honest

1973	35.9%	28.9	33.3	1.0	0.9	(1500)
1975	38.9%	31.4	28.1	1.4	0.2	(1481)
1976	38.2%	29.3	31.4	0.8	0.3	(1490)
1978	38.2%	30.9	29.5	1.0	0.3	(1520)
1980	40.1%	27.0	31.1	1.0	0.6	( 489)
1980	33.1%	30.4	35.7	0.8	0.0	( 487)
1983	36.0%	32.0	30.5	1.3	0.3	(1579)
1984	30.9%	28.9	38.5	1.3	0.4	(1438)
1986	24.7%	26.8	47.1	1.3	0.1	( 716)

CF: For the activities below, indicate which ones you did during the past year.

Copied homework from another student.

Frequently/Occasionally

1987	52.7%	(209,672)
1988	57.1%	(222,296)

Cheated on a test in school.

Yes

1987	30.4%	(209,672)
1988	36.6%	(222,296)

Gallup-Teens: At your school, how common is cheating on tests or exams? Would you say there is a great deal, a fair amount, or not very much cheating?

	Great Deal	Fair Amount	Not Very Much	DK
1959	22%	60	18	-- (na)
1978	30%	42	26	2 (na)
1981	37%	39	24	-- (na)
1986	22%	44	30	4 (na)
1989	44%	34	22	-- (500)

Gallup-Teens: Have you, yourself, ever cheated on a test or exam?

Yes, Have Cheated

1978	62%	(na)
1981	66%	(na)
1986	59%	(na)
1989	54%	(500)

### Individual Expression

MFT: How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

People should do their own thing even if other people think its strange.

	Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither	Mostly Agree	Agree	
1975	2.7%	3.9	11.1	41.3	41.0	(2761)
1976	3.3%	5.8	13.3	37.0	40.6	(2732)
1977	2.4%	7.3	13.3	36.4	40.6	(2822)
1978	3.3%	7.1	11.8	36.3	41.7	(3330)
1979	3.3%	5.9	13.5	37.7	39.7	(2960)
1980	2.5%	6.8	15.0	36.7	38.9	(2986)
1981	3.0%	6.5	12.4	36.1	42.0	(3287)
1982	2.6%	5.4	13.6	37.0	41.3	(3289)
1983	2.7%	5.1	11.8	37.4	43.0	(3084)
1984	3.6%	6.1	12.1	34.9	43.3	(2985)
1985	3.3%	5.2	12.4	34.7	44.3	(3002)
1986	3.2%	4.8	12.0	33.9	46.1	(2894)
1987	2.1%	4.7	12.9	32.1	48.2	(3019)
1988	2.9%	4.6	12.0	34.3	46.1	(3011)
1989	2.7%	5.5	10.4	31.8	49.7	(2643)

I get a real kick out of doing things that are a little dangerous.

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1975						
1976	24.2%	21.2	24.8	20.5	9.3	(2721)
1977	24.3%	21.5	26.0	18.3	10.0	(2816)
1978	25.1%	21.4	26.8	18.1	8.7	(3323)
1979	25.3%	20.7	25.0	19.3	9.7	(2956)
1980	24.5%	20.7	26.4	19.7	8.8	(2975)
1981	23.8%	22.8	25.5	19.5	8.4	(3275)
1982	24.7%	20.6	25.2	20.0	9.6	(3287)
1983	23.0%	19.8	26.3	20.2	10.6	(3078)
1984	24.0%	17.9	26.8	19.8	11.4	(2995)
1985	21.1%	18.4	27.7	21.0	11.8	(3008)
1986	19.9%	17.2	28.0	22.3	12.7	(2890)
1987	15.5%	17.5	27.1	25.6	14.1	(2010)
1988	17.2%	16.4	28.3	23.0	15.1	(3012)
1989	17.7%	15.1	27.2	24.9	15.0	(2647)

## Privacy

Harris & NORC/GSS: How concerned are you about threats to your personal privacy in America today? Would you say you are very concerned, somewhat concerned, only a little concerned, or not concerned at all?

	Very Concerned	Somewhat Concerned	Only a Little Concerned	Not Concerned at All	DK	
1978	31%	33	17	19	1	(1256)
1982	45%	29	14	11	1	(1513)
1982	45%	29	14	11	1	(1504)
1983	47%	30	15	8	0	(1506)
1990	46%	33	na	na	na	(2254)

<sup>1</sup> NORC/GSS

Cambridge: Do you think we need new laws to protect personal privacy, or are existing laws adequate?

	Need New Laws	Existing Laws Adequate	DK	
1988	48%	37	15	(1471)
1989	50%	37	13	(1448)



## Counterespionage

### Wiretapping

GSS: Everything considered, would you say that in general you approve or disapprove of wiretapping?

	Approve	Disapprove	DK	
1974	17%	80	4	(1484)
1975	16%	80	4	(1490)
1977	18%	78	3	(1530)
1978	19%	78	3	(1532)
1982	19%	77	4	(1506)
1983	19%	78	4	(1599)
1985	23%	74	3	(1534)
1986	22%	74	4	(1470)
1988	20%	74	6	( 983)
1989	26%	69	5	(1000)
1990	22%	72	6	( 925)

Harris: Do you feel the federal government should be allowed to engage in wiretapping and electronic surveillance, if in each case it had to go to court before hand to obtain court permission, or don't you feel the federal government should ever be allowed to engage in wiretapping or electronic surveillance?

	1974
Allowed	63%
Not Allowed	28
DK	9
	(1495)

Harris: I would like to read you a few suggestions that people have made to improve stability and order in this country. For each, tell me if you would favor or oppose such a step being taken.

1974

Agree	Disagree	DK
-------	----------	----

The government should be given the authority to wiretap and use other electronic surveillance to gather evidence against citizens suspected of criminal activity, even if a court does not authorize such activity.

27%	68	5
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(1495)

Canada: Some people feel that Canada's security service should be able to wire tap the telephones of people who \_\_\_\_? Do you think that the security service should be able to wire tap them or not?

ca. 1986

Allow Wiretapping

People who...

General Public	Elites <sup>1</sup>
----------------	---------------------

hold ideas that may lead to the overthrow of our democratic system

34%	51%
-----	-----

are agents of a foreign government

45%	63%
-----	-----

are suspected of being spies

57%	70%
-----	-----

are suspected of being terrorists

66%	81%
-----	-----

(2084)	(1348)
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<sup>1</sup> Combined samples of legislators, civil servants, police officials, and lawyers.

NORC/GSS: Suppose the police get an anonymous tip that a man with a long criminal record is planning to break into a warehouse. Please circle a number for each question to show if you think police should be allowed without a court order to tap his phone?

	Definitely Allowed	Probably Allowed	Probably Not Allowed	Definitely Not Allowed	
1985	23.5%	22.8	24.9	28.8	( 631)
1990	20.4%	28.5	26.9	24.2	(1113)

NORC/GSS: Now, suppose the tip is about a man without a criminal record. Please circle a number for each question to show if you think police be allowed without a court order to tap his phone?

	Definitely Allowed	Probably Allowed	Probably Not Allowed	Definitely Not Allowed	
1985	8.1%	13.9	26.4	51.7	( 633)

## Lie Detectors

Harris: If someone works in a government agency that uses classified information and there is a leak to the press, do you think it is or is not all right to make all those employees who handle the information take a lie detector test to learn who leaked the information?

1978

	Yes, Take Test	No, Don't Take Test	It Depends	Not Sure	
Public	58%	29	10	3	(1511)
Govt Officials					
Congress	27%	65	6	1	( 77)
Law Enforcement	67%	24	7	2	( 42)
Regulatory	17%	72	9	2	( 53)

Harris: I will read you some practices that have been used by business organizations for different reasons. For each one I would like you to tell me whether they should or should not be forbidden by law. Please think of most jobs in business and government and not jobs that require security clearances or special moral qualities.

1978

	Forbidden	Allowed	DK	
Asking a job applicant to take a lie detector test.	62%	31	7	(1513)
Requiring an employee to take a lie detector test when there is suspicion of theft in his department.	43%	48	9	(1513)

AP/MG: How about if you were applying for a job and the prospective employer asked you to take a lie detector test? Would you object to taking it, or not?

1986

Would object	30%
Not object	65
DK	5
	(1512)

AP/MG: Some people say that lie detector tests are needed in certain circumstances to make sure people in sensitive positions are honest. Other people say that lie detectors are not always accurate and should not be used. Still others say that mandatory lie detector tests are an invasion of a person's right to privacy. I will read a list of circumstances in which lie detectors might be used. For each one, please tell me whether, in your opinion, lie detector tests should or should not be used.

1986

	Should	Should Not	DK	
For periodic testing of government employees who have access to classified information	81%	15	4	(1512)
For testing of employees suspected of stealing from work	75%	21	4	(1512)
For testing in court of people accused of crimes	72%	22	6	(1512)
For testing in court of witnesses	63%	30	7	(1512)
For periodic testing of all government employees	46%	49	5	(1512)
For testing of prospective new employees by companies that are considering hiring them	37%	55	8	(1512)
For testing of all current employees by their companies	27%	66	7	(1512)

Harris: As you know, the number of people caught spying in the U.S. has increased greatly over the past few years. As a way of trying to control the growth of spying in this country, would you favor or oppose...

	1986			
	Favor	Oppose	DK	
Making most government employees who handle secret information regularly take lie detector tests.	75%	24	1	(1254)

### Drug Testing

Harris: In the following situations, do you consider it reasonable or unreasonable for employers to require someone with your job to take a scientific test for drug use (READ EACH ITEM)?

1990

	Reasonable	Not Reasonable	DK	
In the application process, before being hired	85%	17	1	(2254)
In a randomized drug testing program for all employees	66%	33	1	(2254)
If supervisors feel an employee's behavior shows signs of the effects of drug use	65%	34	1	(2254)

Harris: In the following situations, do you consider it reasonable or unreasonable for employers to require someone with your job to take a scientific test for drug use?

1990

	Reasonable	Unreasonable	DK	
In the application process, before being hired	83%	17	1	(2254)
If supervisors feel an employee's behavior shows signs of the effects of using drugs	65%	34	1	(2254)
In a randomized drug testing program for all employees	66%	33	1	(2254)

Gallup: The following is a list of some programs and proposals that are being discussed in this country today. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose\_\_\_\_\_?

1987

	Strongly Favor	Favor	Oppose	Strongly Oppose	DK	
Mandatory drug tests for government employees	24%	41	22	8	6	(4244)

ABC/WP: I'm going to name some groups which some people have suggested should be required to take tests for illegal drug use on a regular basis. After each, please tell me whether you think they should be tested or not?

1989

	Tested	Not Tested	DK	
Airline pilots	94%	6	0	(750)
Federal employees involved in national security areas	93%	6	1	(750)
Police officers	93%	7	0	(750)
Professional Athletes	88%	16	1	(750)
Members of Congress	87%	12	1	(750)
High school students	67%	31	1	(750)



### Employee Screening

Harris: If someone is applying for a job, do you feel it would be appropriate for a prospective employer to (READ EACH ITEM), or not?

1990

	Appropriate	Not Appropriate	Depends on Job	DK	
Check to find out whether the appli- cant has a crimi- nal record	80%	14	5	-	(1511)
Ask that the appli- cant take a writ- ten honesty test	55%	40	4	2	(1511)
Check into the appli- cant's lifestyle or political asso- ciations	12%	85	3	-	(1511)

## Personal Information and Credit Checks

Harris: Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Consumers have lost all control over how personal information about them is circulated and used by companies.

1990

Agree	71%
Disagree	27
Neither/DK	3

My privacy rights as a consumer in credit reporting are adequately protected today by law and business practices.

1990

Agree	46%
Disagree	51
Neither/DK	3

(2254)

Harris: Have you ever decided not to apply for something like a job, credit, or insurance, because you did not want to provide certain kinds of information?

	Yes, Decided Not to Apply	No, Did Not	DK
1978	14%	85	1 (1496)
1990	30%	69	1 (2254)

Harris: When people (want to borrow money/apply for a credit card), do you think that the company (giving them credit/issuing the credit card) should be able to check on their credit records, or not?

1990

Should be able

Borrow Money	96%
Credit Card	94%

(2254)

### Other Measures

Harris: As you know, the number of people caught spying in the U.S. has increased greatly over the past few years. As a way of trying to control the growth of spying in this country, would you favor or oppose...

	1986			
	Favor	Oppose	DK	
Conducting an investigation of the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) and other intelligence agencies to find out why they have been so slow to find and crack down on spies.	86%	12	2	(1254)
Cutting down the number of government documents classified as secret and top secret, so that the number of people with access to such secret material in government is sharply reduced.	80%	17	3	(1254)
Firing managers in government operations who turn out to have spies working for them.	63%	34	4	(1254)

### Freedom of Information Act

Harris: [Favor or Oppose] Cutting back on the access people have to government records about themselves and public officials under the Freedom of Information Act.

	Favor	Oppose	DK	
1981	33%	63	4	(1252)

Roper: The Reagan Administration thinks a number of government regulations and restrictions have gone too far. Here are some things they propose changing. (CARD SHOWN RESPONDENT) For each one, would you tell me whether you are in favor of it or opposed to it? First, changing the Freedom of Information Act so that the FBI, the CIA, and the Justice Department can keep all the information in their files secret.

	Favor	Oppose	DK	
1982	36%	53	11	(2000)

Harris: Do you agree or disagree that...federal freedom of information laws have gone too far in letting individuals and businesses get government documents.

	Agree	Disagree	Neither	DK	
1990	58%	37	1	4	(2254)

### Media Publication

Gallup: As a general rule, do you think the press is too quick to print classified information whether or not it might hurt the nation's security?

1971

Yes	57%
No	30
DK	14

(339)

ORC: Do you think the press should publish top secret government material once it comes into their hands, or should it be withheld until the government decides publication will not harm national security?

1971

Should publish	14%
Should be withheld	76
DK	10

(607)

ORC: Do you think "freedom of the press" includes the freedom of a paper to print stolen top secret government documents, or not?

1971

Yes	15%
No	74
DK	11

(607)

Harris: Now let me read you some statements that have been made about the case of the Pentagon Papers on the Vietnam War. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree.

1971

	Agree	Disagree	DK	
In a democracy such as ours, it is necessary to tell the people the truth about how we got into the war in Vietnam, even if it means printing top secret documents, as long as they are not about today's situation there.	53%	30	18	(1600)
One way to cover up past mistakes such as in Vietnam is to put "top secret" on all the documents and keep them locked up.	40%	46	14	(1600)
Whenever a newspaper obtains a copy of a "top secret" government document, it should go to the government in order to get permission to print it.	61%	24	15	(1600)
It is always wrong for a newspaper to print any document that has "top secret" stamped on it, even if it deals with the past and not the present.	47%	38	15	(1600)

Harris: I am going to read you a list of different types of information that a newspaper might have. For each I would like you to tell me whether you would consider the publishing of this information to be an invasion of privacy or not.

The contents of confidential government papers that reveal incompetence or dishonesty by public officials.

	Invasion of Privacy	Not an Invasion	Not Sure	
1978	21%	73	6	(1513)

Harris: I will read you a few suggestions that people have made. For each, tell me if you would favor strongly, favor somewhat, oppose somewhat, or oppose strongly such a step be taken.

The government should have the right to prosecute anyone who publishes materials that it classifies as secret.

1978

	Favor Strongly	Favor Somewhat	Oppose Somewhat	Oppose Strongly	Not Sure	
Public	48%	22	12	11	6	(1512)
Govt Officials						
Congress	19%	36	13	27	4	( 77)
Law Enforcement	60%	14	19	2	5	( 42)
Regulatory	25%	21	21	34	0	( 53)

PAF: Freedom of expression means different things to different people, now I'm interested in what it means to you. I'll read you some statements about the right of freedom of expression, about what it protects and how far it goes. For each one, tell me whether you agree if this is a freedom of expression right or not. If you're not sure, just say so.

1979

	Agree	Disagree	DK	
A newspaper has a right to print top secret materials as long as it doesn't endanger national security.	42%	47	11	(1000)

NORC/GSS: Suppose a newspaper got hold of confidential government papers about defense plans and wanted to publish them. Should the newspaper be allowed to publish them or should the government have the power to prevent publication?

	Allow to Publish	Prevent Publication	
1985	16.8%	83.2	( 587)

Now suppose the confidential government papers were about economic plans. Should the newspaper be allowed to publish the papers or should the government have the power to prevent publication?

	Allow to Publish	Prevent Publication	
1985	61.3%	38.7	( 586)

Gallup: Which of the following, if any, would you favor as a way of reducing news leaks that might affect national security?

	1986 <sup>1</sup>
Have a special unit in the White House to investigate leaks	34%
Requiring all senior officials to take lie detector tests on a regular basis	20
Allow the Justice Department to block publication of information it feels threatens national security	46
Other	3
None of these	12
DK	6
	(1504)

<sup>1</sup> Percents add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.



## Punishments

### Capital Punishment

NORC: If someone is suspected of treason or other serious crimes, he shouldn't be entitled to be let out on bail.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1978	20%	43	11	23	3

Roper: Opinions differ as to whether there should be a death penalty for certain very serious crimes, or whether there should not be a death penalty for any crime, no matter how serious it is, How do you feel--are you in favor of the death penalty for certain crimes, or opposed to the death penalty under any circumstances?

If Favor:

For which of these crimes, if any, would you favor the death penalty?

	1974	1976	1980
Kidnapping when the victim is killed	62%	57%	63%
Premeditated murder	60	59	67
A paid killing	58	56	64
Hijacking a plane that results in death	55	50	55
The killing of a policeman or prison guard	54	52	58
Assassinating a high public official	53	50	56
Blowing up a government building that results in death	53	49	56
Armed robbery that results in death	51	50	59
Arson that results in death	50	48	55
Treason, espionage	37	34	37
	(1984)	(2002)	(2002)

Gallup: Are you in favor of the death penalty for persons convicted of ...

	1978			1981		
	Favor	Oppose	DK	Favor	Oppose	DK
Murder	62%	27	11	66%	25	9
Hijacking an airplane	37%	52	11	22%	68	10
Treason	36%	50	14	39%	49	12
Rape	32%	56	12	37%	53	10

(1560)

(1609)

Gallup: Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of...

	1985			1988		
	Favor	Oppose	DK	Favor	Oppose	DK
Murder	75%	17	8	79%	16	5
Attempting to assassinate the President	57%	37	6	63%	33	4
Spying for a foreign nation during peacetime.	48%	47	5	42%	50	8
Rape	45%	45	10	51%	42	7
Hijacking a plane	45%	48	10	49%	45	6
Drug dealers not convicted of murder	--	--	--	38%	55	7

(1008)

(1001)

Harris: As you know, the number of people caught spying in the U.S. has increased greatly over the past few years. As a way of trying to control the growth of spying in this country, would you favor or oppose...

	1986			
	Favor	Oppose	DK	
Giving a mandatory death penalty to anyone caught selling or giving secrets to a foreign country.	62%	36	2	(1254)

AP/MG: For what crimes besides murder should the death penalty be imposed?

1986

Rape	54%
Child molestation or abuse	35
Treason against the U.S. (Traitors, espionage, etc.)	20
Drug dealing	14
Other	21
DK	5
	(1251)

## Pollard

CBS/NYT: Jonathan Pollard was convicted of spying for Israel. Do you feel angry, do you feel embarrassed, or do you feel sympathetic toward him? (IF MORE THAN ONE ANSWER, PROBE: What do you feel most strongly?)

1987

Angry	48%
Embarrassed	12
Sympathetic	7
Other	7
DK	27

(1045)

CBS/NYT: Jonathan Pollard was sentenced to life in prison for spying for Israel. Do you think that sentence was too harsh, too lenient, or was the sentence the right one?

1987

Too harsh	16%
Too lenient	9
Right one	57
DK	17

(1045)

CBS/NYT: Which bothers you more--to learn that Israel spied against the United States, or to learn that once again Russia was caught spying against the United States?

1987

Israel	26%
Russia	46
Both equal	15
DK	13

(1045)

## II. Differences in Attitudes by Age Groups<sup>a</sup>

### Disliking Russia (-4 and -5)

Age	Year			Change 90-73
	1974	1982	1990	
18-29	18.3%	41.1%	10.4%	- 7.9
30-39	22.4	39.7	16.3	- 6.1
40-49	30.5	46.4	16.0	-14.5
50-64	31.7	57.3	19.1	-12.6
65+	37.7	67.1	13.2	-24.5

### Communism as a Form of Government (Worse Form)

	1973	1980	1990
18-29	29.8	50.4	43.1
30-39	46.0	49.0	57.8
40-49	43.6	59.4	43.7
50-64	51.9	65.8	56.1
65+	56.4	71.9	59.6

### Defense Spending (Too Little Being Spent)

	1973	1982	1990	
18-29	8.5	51.0	10.1	+ 1.6
30-39	12.9	54.1	6.6	- 6.3
40-49	12.3	60.3	16.7	+ 4.4
50-64	14.5	70.4	24.6	+10.1
65+	11.3	68.6	10.2	- 1.1

<sup>a</sup> For details on question wording see the previous section.

Obligation of Men to serve in Military During Peacetime/War  
(Very Important)

1984

	Peace	War
18-29	19.9	72.7
30-39	33.4	81.1
40-49	41.8	90.5
50-64	39.1	93.0
65+	29.7	90.5

Confidence in the Executive Branch  
of the Federal Government (Great Deal)

Age	Year			Change 90-73
	1973	1980	1990	
18-29	24.6	12.5	30.6	+ 6.0
30-39	29.9	9.1	20.2	- 9.7
40-49	29.1	12.3	17.1	-12.0
50-64	31.4	12.4	24.8	- 6.6
65+	38.5	17.1	29.0	- 9.5

Confidence in the Military (Great Deal)

	1973	1980	1990	
18-29	24.6	26.6	39.8	+15.2
30-39	31.5	20.6	30.3	- 1.2
40-49	32.1	29.1	26.6	- 5.5
50-64	37.6	35.5	35.0	- 2.6
65+	42.1	34.6	36.6	- 5.5

Obey Parents (Ranked as Most Important)

	1990
18-29	15.4
30-39	15.0
40-49	14.9
50-64	18.8
65+	31.4

Obey Law (Should)

1985

18-29	35.0
30-39	34.5
40-49	35.1
50-64	53.6
65+	54.9

Privacy (Very Concerned)

1982

18-29	51.7
30-39	46.9
40-49	49.4
50-64	49.2
65+	50.6

Wiretapping (Approve)

Age

Year

	1974	1982	1990
18-29	14.7	13.9	25.8
30-39	18.4	16.3	23.6
40-49	18.8	21.5	15.9
50-64	20.4	18.8	22.4
65+	14.5	20.0	28.7

Tap Phone of Criminal (Allow)

1985

18-29	39.1
30-39	38.5
40-49	47.6
50-64	55.0
65+	51.3

Tap Phone of Non-criminal (Allow)

1985

18-29	17.9
30-39	18.7
40-49	23.5
50-64	28.1
65+	21.2

Papers Publishing Confidential Economic Plans (Allow)

1985

18-29	65.5
30-39	64.5
40-49	64.6
50-64	54.4
65+	57.1

Capital Punishment for Spies in Peacetime (For)

1985

18-29	40
30-49	42
50+	59

Capital Punishment for Murderers (For)

1990

18-29	80.6
30-39	79.7
40-49	75.7
50-64	78.4
65+	82.2



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